1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

Weapons.—The *Carajá* use bows and arrows (pls. 20, *bottom, left;* 21, *left* and *center*), and their mythology indicates aboriginal use of the spear thrower for hunting monkeys. Recently, they have used a spear thrower of the upper Xingú River type for sport.

Pottery.—Pottery vessels include several forms of plain ware (fig. 20).

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

The kinship structure may be described as double descent. Both lines are important, the greater emphasis falling on the mother's line, and both lines serve different functions. Village citizenship, adoption, and the closest affectional ties are reckoned in the mother's line. Moiety membership and the offices of chief, priest, and food-divider are patrilineally inherited.

The fundamental unit of social organization is the village. Every village has one or more ioló, children of chiefly line, designated by the chief for preferential treatment by the members of the village. The chief names the ioló who is to succeed him or, if he fails to do so, the village makes the choice at his death. Girls of chiefly line are similarly chosen for preferential treatment; each of them is known as the "hidden woman." There is some indication that women functioned as chiefs in former times, but today there is no woman chief. The chief has no coercive powers but directs the village by recognizing the will of the majority in such matters as the selection of camp and garden sites and the announcement of a move at change of season. His principal function is to act as peacemaker, and people readily submit to his adjudication. Because of the importance of religious ceremonials, the priest and the shaman frequently exercise more authority than the chief. When all three offices are vested in a single individual, his authority may be considerable, but it is kept in check by the right of a discontented person to move at any time to another village.

Within the village the important unit is the household. Residence being matrilocal, a household consists of sisters, their husbands, children, and the husbands of grown daughters. Marriage is restricted to one's own generation, the preferred mate being a cousin on the mother's side. There is no sanction but ridicule against wrong marriages, and there are many cases of cross-generational marriage. Marriage is predominantly monogamous, but a few instances of polygyny and one of polyandry were encountered. The avunculate is very important and involves many social and especially ceremonial duties. Cooperation in the household is close and in the village fairly close. In addition, villages are grouped together in ceremonial units, generally consisting of three or four neighboring villages, which celebrate important feasts jointly. This ceremonial unit acts as an insurance group when a village's crop fails or its fish supplies grow scarce. Beyond this, the only intervillage ties

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

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628 are the product of intermarriage and formal friendship. Intervillage
626 feuds are common and are restrained only by the religious community, sanctuary being granted at all religious ceremonials.

ETIQUETTE

576 All dealings with visitors are conducted according to elaborate formal
195 patterns. The language is rich in formal appellations, exclamations, and
562 honorific phrases. The most remarkable feature is that women are permitted to behave with perfect freedom, whereas men, until they become fathers, behave with a shy and deferential modesty resembling but exceed-
[522] ing that of the Victorian maiden. Normal relations between members of the same village are formal and dignified; only in the men's house or on fishing and hunting trips is the behavior of men relaxed enough to permit horseplay and casual joking.

LIFE CYCLE

553 **Childbirth and Childhood.**—The child gets two sets of names, one
551 male and one female, as soon as the mother is known to be pregnant. These
843 are one's own names given by grandparents of both lines. Taboos in
846 regard to diet and behavior are required of both parents before and after birth. There is a well-developed couvade based on the notion of an
853 intimate connection between the infant and its father. Babies are nursed
862 until they turn to other food of their own volition; sometimes ridicule is used as a sanction against particularly recalcitrant children. No inter-
854 course is allowed during the period of lactation. Babies are carried on the hip, and sleep with the mother until weaning, when they are paired
[291] off with other children or with a grandparent. The girl child wears no clothing until weaned and then receives a fringed belt.

881 **Puberty and initiations.**—At menstruation, a girl's cheeks are scarified and she assumes the girdle.

[304] A boy passes through a first initiation at about the age of 8 or 9,
[302] when his lower lip is pierced and a small bone labret inserted. A couple of years later, he passes through a second initiation, when his hair is cut short to a tonsure, his entire body is stained black with genipa, and he assumes the penis cord. When his hair has grown out to shoulder length, it is put up in a braid, and he attains full status as a young man.

885 The next change of status for both boys and girls occurs at marriage,
551 when, for the first time, they take on the responsibilities of regular work. Teknonymy is a matter of pride and follows the birth of the first child.
888 The name is retained permanently thereafter, even though the child should die. At about 45 both parents discard their ornaments and accept the
561 status of old age. All the above age grades are named and involve differential behavior and dietary observances.

653333—47—15

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

Games.—Of numerous games, the most important is a formal wrestling match which is an indispensable part of most religious ceremonies and of all intervillage visits.

Narcotics and stimulants.—Like the other tribes in this region, the *Carajá* have no alcoholic beverages. They smoke tobacco in short cylindrical pipes (fig. 21, *c*). They are heavy smokers, some of the children beginning before they are weaned.

SUPERNATURALISM

Cults.—*Carajá* religion consists of two distinct cults: a cult of the dead and a mask cult (fig. 24). The cult of the dead, which is under the direction of the priest, has for its object the placation of ghosts by a periodical ceremonial which comes to its climax in several large calendrical feasts. The most important of these feasts is the Big House Feast, which is celebrated shortly after the beginning of the rainy season. All the villages which comprise a ceremonial unit come to the one village where the feast is conducted. There is a great mass of ceremonial addressed to various classes of ghosts, but the central portion of the ceremony is the impersonation of animal ghosts. Another important feast, already mentioned, occurs at the height of the dry season and is directed toward the control of enemy ghosts. Two other feasts held in the dry season are chiefly for the entertainment of the ancestors.

The mask cult is concerned with the worship of another class of supernaturals. It consists of an elaborate routine of feasts, interrupted only by death. In these feasts, conducted by the shaman, the supernaturals are impersonated in the complex dances mentioned above.

The two cults are independent of each other and are both strictly men's cults. Any women intruding upon the secrets of the cults is subjected to gang rape and remains a wanton thereafter.

Shamanism.—A shaman is trained by apprenticeship to an older shaman. A certain amount of medical lore is taught but the essence of the training is learning how to communicate with supernaturals in a state of trance.

There is a considerable amount of sorcery. The main technique is bottling a supernatural being into a small image and then directing it into the body of the victim. As almost all deaths are interpreted as the result of sorcery, feuding is continual.

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/46 cont./

551 wish to infer at the outset a marriage, formerly prescribed,
601 with the matrilateral female cross-cousin. One must remember,
[183] however, that the present state characterized by a great degree of freedom, in other words, by a degree of "information" or of greater entropy, is also found in the performance of ceremonies, such as in the narration of myths and legends, these expressions of the spiritual life of the Carajá which allow great freedom of variation around a principal theme stubbornly preserved. — Finally teknonymy guides the reciprocal terms of grandparents and grandchildren, so that the grandparents, designated according to their sex, reply by the same word, even if the grandchild is of the opposite sex.

561 Before finishing my article, I must quickly touch on the
554 last two columns of Murdock's attempt. The Carajá distinguish,
615 by speech and by ornaments, age grades. At the same time, an idea of stratification is outlined in the fact that political and religious roles are the heritage of only one of the three patrilineal
[567] groups with an endogamous tendency. It is tempting to think of the classes or castes of the Guaycurú /Guaicuru/, for example, and since there are reports which speak of temporary slaves, Murdock's information in this direction must be corrected (A1, with a tendency towards C1, instead of O; column 14). The
628 villages are politically autonomous, but the Carajá themselves
621 unite some villages in amphictyonies for the performance of
622 certain ceremonies. The hereditary succession of the chiefs
621 goes in the patrilineal line, a grandson being chosen as the candidate, or, if one is lacking, a granddaughter. Consequent-
[178] ly, there is a temporary matrilineal succession in the heart of the patrilineal group, for which there is reserved the role of the chief, who, incidentally, is on the way to complete disappearance (thus: Pp and m, for the Carajá themselves, Ap and m for the Javahé and Chambioá /Shambioa/; column 15).

121 You would not wish me to end on this melancholy note.
[178] I repeat: a people small in number and too little known, despite appearances, is in the process of losing at least its traditional aspect, which would have been fascinating for comparative sociology as well as for the history of the South American Indians.

/321 cont./

622 and represents the village before the strangers. He performs these duties personally, without an intermediary. He does not announce his orders in men's councils (such institutions are lacking), but goes from house to house. He transmits announcements to other villages by messengers, who, however, are not further legitimatized.

622 621 His power, however, is only a limited one; it rests entirely on the good will of the villagers. If they are dissatisfied with him for any reason, they simply move away and leave him alone. Souza Villa Real already reported such a case in 1792 (1). On a

1. Rev. trim. 11, 1848, p. 416.

trip by way of the east arm, on a sandbank five days below the northern end of Bananal Island, he met Indians who said that they had migrated from their village because of disputes with their chief, whom they regarded as an evil sorcerer.

/322/ In former times there seem to have been quite a number of tribal chiefs. In 1908 only four chiefs were named (1),

1. In 1792 Souza Villa Real also mentions only four chiefs of the Karajahi, but only from hearsay; Rev. trim. 11 (1848), p. 432.

whereas quite a number of villages were without chiefs (see succession /see pp. 266 -267/). The southernmost chief was Fotuna in Village No. 14, the rest were Cyriãki in Village 18, Tumanakú in Village 21, and Crisote in Village 22. Rappears that their power is, in the first place, limited to the village concerned. The young people of other villages, however, also seem to gather around them; at any rate, in the villages with chiefs I regularly came across an unusually large number of young men. My Karajá rowers also willingly obeyed the commands of these chiefs. The men from the individual villages who were called capitão by the Brazilian boatmen are not Indian chiefs,

/353 cont./

166 Schischá, the deceased chief Pedro Manco, and Mother Joana from the migratory camp No. 9, people about 60-70 years old, are regarded as the children of the immigrant Šavajé. Recently, Šavajé again came from Bananal to Schischá; in October 1908 they lived in a separate house. These Šavajé, of course, entered into frequent alliances with the Karajá.

167 [101] A third branch is supposed to have separated from the Šavajé on Bananal, apparently in the previous generation. This horde crossed the Araguaya and moved toward the west; among the Karajá of the Araguaya they are regarded as lost. The separation took place in the region of the mouth of the Rio das Mortes or somewhat more to the south.

619 Before I enter into a discussion of the culture of the Šavajé, I should like to report very briefly what the Karajá told me about them: The Šavajé are their kinsmen; they speak the same lan-
628 [438] guage and have the same tribal tattooing. They live in peaceful relations with the Karajá, they intermarry; above all, there is an active trade in which the Karajá trade to the Šavajé stone tools, which the Šavajé lack, as well as iron goods, fabrics, and chains of beads in exchange for urucú, net coverings, araras, and
511 food. In clothing and ornamentation the Šavajé are supposed to be equal to the Karajá, but to have much more beautiful things. Among the Karajá, they are considered rich in ornaments and foodstuffs; hence, in times of hardship, the Karajá often migrate over to them. I found these statements to be generally true.

101 Phonetically the name of the people should be written Šăvăjé, in accordance with the pronunciation customary among the Karajá. The Karajá also call them: (ĭ)šăndjú, (ĭ)šă(n)dĭwăndú.
361 [114] [161] I cannot give their number, because I became acquainted with only a small village of five huts. In any case, besides three or four such small villages, there seems to be a very large village, similar to those of the Šambioá, so that the number may perhaps
[162] be given as 800-1000. The Šavajé living among the southern Karajá perhaps reach 50 in number.

/366 cont./

526 The wrestling was very similar to that of the Karajá. If
574 one bout were not accepted, the challengers made a gesture of rejection with their arms, turned around, and went back to their row. Then one of them walked forward again, assumed the position of rest in the center, with his back to the opponents, and
[516] shouted until one of the latter accepted. The resting position was
[184] identical with that of the Karajá: they stood with the upper part of the body bent over and rested the arms on the knee. The victor performed a dance in front of the loser, shouting loudly; upon walking away, he moved his left hand over the head of the defeated one. Here, too, the chief stood on the side of the guests.

574 Only after the return from the wrestling match was food put before the Karajá; only now were they regarded as accepted and permitted to disperse into the individual houses.

843 Upon my departure from the village a strange ceremony took
628 place, the meaning of which, I believe, is that a girl made
123 pregnant during previous visits of Karajá was sent along with the Karajá to await the birth among them; whether she would then return could not be definitely ascertained; perhaps she went to the Karajá as a village prostitute. Shortly before departure, the chief took me by the hand and led me into the neighboring house. Here an obviously pregnant girl was sitting and /367/ spinning. She had to get up and lay her work aside; the chief's wife took off her neck ornament (I had already bought her leg bands from her in the morning). The girl then had to take a second bast apron and her net covering and go with us to the boat. Apparently this was very little to the girl's liking, for she wept bitterly and only gradually calmed down. The chief then made long speeches to me, the meaning of which, however, I could not understand. On the way, the girl was under the special charge of my Indian guide, who allegedly was her cousin. He was very gallant to her, carried her covering, brought food on a plate, etc. The girl always walked closely in front and behind him.

535 The masked dance that I saw among the Šavajé was a ĩdjãzõ
[184] dance and very similar to that of the Karajá. It took place on the first evening. The two masks stood side by side in front of the hut,

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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CHAPTER X.

KARAYÁ SPORTS.—FUNERALS.—CARNIVALS.—RELIGION.

526 THE young men love to wrestle on the sand on bright, moonlight nights. The chief object of the contest appears to be to cause the opponent to fall by tripping him. It is an 526 exceedingly interesting sport. The Karayá of one village 628 cannot pass another without stopping to indulge in the [574] "struggle," as it is called. In all such cases where a visiting team is pitted against a home team of equal numbers, it seems to be more of a ceremony, or a performance, than a test of championship. The visitors, on arrival, do not go about the village nor mingle with their hosts, until after the struggle. Instead, they crouch in the sand by their canoes, their knees drawn up to their chins, their heads hanging down, and do not speak, except to reply in as few words as possible to the questions put to them. When the ceremony of the struggle is over, refreshments are set before them, and they may go about the encampment at will. On the occasion of my visit, the night was rather dark; and when the time came for the match, the home team, accompanied by every soul in the encampment, moved out to a broad, open space on the sand, there to await the approach of the visiting team. As the latter were coming up, a series of maniacal, blood-chilling war yells were exchanged by the teams as challenges. There was something about the performance that suggested cockfighting. Or is this "struggle" an imitation of a fight between rival tigers, who, having first challenged each other with terrifying roars, finally lock in deadly combat? The

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
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teams having lined up—there were four men to a side—they approached each other waltzing, zig-zag fashion, back and forth from one side of the ring to the other in a series of very rapid, stiff-legged, turkey-steps, the second man of each pair being close behind his partner and executing, lock-step, precisely the same movements in perfect unison with him; at the same time, the arms of all were extended in front, legs spread wide apart, bodies inclined forward and slightly squatting, and the entire anatomy of each rigid as if frozen stiff. As they worked gradually toward each other, they emitted fiendish challenges in the form of long-drawn-out yells. Finally, they came together and clinched, and the yelling ceased. The "first round" terminated quickly with four of the combatants sprawling upon the sand. For the second round, they jerked themselves out to one another in single pairs; while for the third round, a single individual, only, came out, first from one side then from the other, prancing like game cocks right up to the opponents' line. 526 628

Dr. Ehrenreich describes a war dance he saw at one of the Sambiða villages. Eight warriors, fully armed with spears, clubs, and bows and arrows, and decorated with feathers executed the dance, led by a sort of dancing master, before whom they were arranged in the form of a crescent. They moved but little from one spot—merely a few steps forward and backward—hopping rapidly and artistically on one leg and waving their weapons in perfect unison, guided by the measured beats of their leader. Every movement was executed with the nicest precision. It is said that the Karayá learned this dance from the Kaiapó tribe. 535 [177]

When a Karayá dies, all his tools, weapons and ornaments are burned, accompanied by a loud crying, wailing and lamentation by the surviving relatives and friends, among whom, because of having participated in the obsequies, will be distributed whatever articles belonging to the deceased that were not consigned to the flames. There is, therefore, some inducement to be a mourner. The death dance around the corpse is next in order. First, the body is ornamented by 764 [768]